Workers of the World, Unite!

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**WILL CAPITALISM OR SOCIALISM WIN IN U.S.?**
**By James P. Cannon**
(See Page 2)

# New President Keeps Silent On Way to End Korean War

## Face "Loyalty" Oath Eviction

— Newark News Photo

**Legless World War II veteran James Kutcher and his 73-year-old father Hyman, above, face eviction from a federal housing project in Newark under a new law designed to evict from low-rent housing all members of any organization on the Attorney General's arbitrary "subversive" list.**

**Jimmy's father has been ordered to sign an oath that neither he, nor any member of his household, belongs to any "subversive" organization. He cannot sign because his son was fired from his Veterans Administration job in 1948 as a member of the Socialist Workers Party.**

**Recently, a U.S. circuit court ruled on Kutcher's appeal to regain his job that mere membership in a so-called "subversive" organization did not constitute grounds in itself for dismissal. Kutcher is preparing court action against the eviction law with American Civil Liberties Union aid.**

## Einstein, Urey Score Kremlin Purge Trials

**Prof. Albert Einstein and Dr. Harold C. Urey, world-renowned atomic physicists and outstanding defenders of civil liberties in the United States, have condemned the purge trials staged by Stalin's regime. Both scientists have courageously spoken out also for clemency on behalf of the Rosenbergs who face execution here as a result of conviction on espionage charges amid a rabid witch-hunt.**

In response to a query from **The New Leader** magazine on the anti-Semitic purges in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, Einstein struck at the whole system of Stalinist purge trials, going back to the monstrous trials of the Thirties. He wired the magazine that "it goes without saying that the perversion of justice which manifests itself in all the official trials staged by the Russian Government, not only that in Prague, but also the earlier ones since the second half of the Thirties deserves unconditional condemnation."

**NOT WITH "NEW LEADER"**

The great German-born scientist and exile from Nazism dissociated himself from certain protest actions proposed by the **New Leader**, a virulent anti-Soviet, pro-war Social Democratic journal, because such actions could not have "any other effect than to fan the flames of mutual hatred." Rather, said Einstein, "the most appropriate step would be, in my opinion, a kind of corporate condemnation from the side of recognized authorities in the field of science and scholarship. The advantage of such action would be that it would be obviously independent from politics."

This proposal recalls the investigation and findings of the famous Dewey Commission, headed by the late noted Prof. John Dewey, which probed the Moscow Trials and interrogated Leon Trotsky during his exile in Mexico. The Commissions report, "Not Guilty," acquitting Trotsky of the slanderous charges against him in the earlier Moscow Trials, was published by Harper Brothers in 1938.

**Dr. Urey, who repeated his appeal for clemency for the Rosenbergs in his wire to the New Leader scoring Stalin's "gross injustices," was one of the first prominent persons to come to the defense of legless veteran James Kutcher.**

*Rosenberg Children Visit Parents in Prison*

**Accompanied by defense atty. Emanuel Bloch, Michael, 9, and Robert, 5, leave Sing Sing prison, N.Y., after visit with their parents, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. At right, Michael comforts his little brother. Their parents face execution, after a trial conducted amidst a witch-hunt atmosphere, for alleged espionage on behalf of the Soviet Union during World War II when the USSR was an ally of the U.S. Noted figures like Prof. Albert Einstein and Dr. Harold C. Urey have appealed for clemency.**

## Cabinet of Millionaires Takes Lead in Drive to Third World Slaughter

**By Joseph Keller**

General Eisenhower was silent in his inaugural address on the one thing above all else the American people wanted to hear: a clear-cut declaration of some plan to end the Korean war without further bloodshed.

He completely evaded the very issue which had proved decisive in his election to the presidency. Not a word did he breathe about fulfillment of his implied Korea-peace promises of less than three months ago.

To be sure, his speech was studded with the word "peace." His tone was softer and more diplomatic than the bellicose snarls and H-bomb threats we were accustomed to hear from Truman. But Eisenhower's silence on Korea spoke louder than all his repeated intonations of the word "peace."

The new President did intimate a reply to Stalin's latest bid for a conference, saying that "we stand ready to engage with any and all others in joint effort to remove the causes of mutual fear and distrust among nations." But he gave not a glimmer of hope that American imperialism would cease its ruthless drive for global domination.

In this barren inaugural address one aim stood out clearly — the effort to cover up Wall Street's aggressive war program with professions of "peace." Such protestations have more than once covered deceptive moves toward war.

Apart from this "peace" camouflage there was nothing in his speech which would differentiate Eisenhower from the most aggressive of the Democratic "internationalists." It is reported that some of the latter, after the address, twitted some of the Republican "isolationists" to show where Eisenhower differed in international policy from Truman and Roosevelt. The implication is clear when we consider that the chief events under both were wars.

Most commentators observed the almost total concentration of Eisenhower's address on foreign affairs. Domestic problems, the general pointed out in passing, are "dwarfed by, and often even created by" the international problems. Since the direction of the new administration, as of the old, will be toward the military solution of international problems, it follows that all domestic needs must bow before the greedy demands of war.

**OPEN RULE OF BIG BUSINESS**

Despite Eisenhower's pious platitudes, the true nature of his regime as the open rule of Wall Street and the big war corporations was apparent even before he took the oath of office. The appointment of Charles E. Wilson, former General Motors president, as the new Secretary of Defense was held up in the Senate hearings when it was disclosed that Wilson, although resigning his GM position, still holds millions of dollars of GM

(Continued on Page 4)

## LARGEST LOCAL BACKS FIGHT ON TRUCKS LAW

DETROIT, Jan. 12 — The General Council of the world's largest trade union local, Ford 600, CIO United Automobile Workers, yesterday condemned the notorious Trucks Law and endorsed the Citizens Committee that has been formed to oppose it.

In the resolution, which is to be submitted to the coming UAW convention, the General Council calls attention to the national significance of the Trucks Law in encouraging similar repressive measures elsewhere.

"The last session of the Michigan State legislature," says the resolution, "adopted one of the most undemocratic measures ever presented to any legislative body in the United States with the passage of the infamous Trucks Law."

"This legislation introduces the worst features of a police state system by requirement of registration of organizations and individuals arbitrarily labeled subversive by the State Attorney-General without hearings or charges."

"The penalty sections for alleged acts of sabotage are so broadly written this measure could be used against the legitimate strike activities of the labor movement."

The resolution then continues: **"The first act under this so-called 'communist control law' was the banning from the ballot of the Socialist Workers Party, a long standing political opponent of the Communist Party, even though they had complied with all the requirements of the election laws."**

"The passage of such a law in the State of Michigan, the home of the UAW-CIO, constitutes a real challenge to the entire labor movement and a deepening of the campaign against democratic rights under the guise of a 'fight against communism.'"

**"The adoption of this law in Michigan has encouraged and will further encourage similar legisla-**

(Continued on page 3)

## 13 MORE CP LEADERS CONVICTED UNDER INFAMOUS SMITH 'GAG' ACT

**By George Lavan**

**NEW YORK, Jan. 21 — The Bill of Rights got another kick in the teeth today as 13 leaders of the persecuted Communist Party were convicted under the thought-control Smith Act. Though the frameup was masqueraded as a criminal proceeding, it was a political trial pure and simple. The "crime" of which the 13 Stalinist leaders were convicted was "conspiring to advocate and teach." This shows how outdated is the once proud boast of Americans that in this country you can say and teach what you believe without fear of imprisonment.**

As if to underline the persecution aspect of the trial the judge refused bail to the defendants until they are sentenced next week. Exceptions were refused although several of the prisoners are elderly and sick and there could be no question of their jumping bail.

The trial began over nine months ago and has been marked by the prosecution's reliance on distorted quotations from political article and books and the testimony of paid stool pigeons — notorious in legal history for unreliable evidence. Although membership and office-holding in the Communist Party is not supposed to be a crime, because in law the party is still legal, the convictions were fundamentally based on the mere fact of the defendants' membership and holding of office.

Indeed the government's case was so flimsy that Judge Dimock, who presided, felt compelled to order the release of two defendants — Simon W. Gerson and Isidore Begun — last September, the fifth month of the trial.

**MINNEAPOLIS CASE**

There have now been 62 unjust convictions under the thought-control Smith Act. The first victims were 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis CIO Teamsters during the war. In the cold war which soon followed World War II, the government used the Smith Act to persecute the Communist Party. There have now been 44 convictions of Stalinist leaders or sub-leaders under this vicious law.

During the trial, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn was sentenced to 30 days for contempt of court. Her "contempt" was refusal to act as stool pigeon and name people so that the government could prosecute them for "conspiring to advocate."

**SMITH ACT CONDEMNED**

Organized labor and most liberal organizations have condemned the Smith Act since it was brought up in Congress. When it was first used to imprison the Socialist Workers Party leaders because of their opposition to World War II, the very Stalinist leaders, who are now being railroaded to prison under the same vicious law, applauded its use.

All those who believe in the fundamental liberties guaranteed by the Bill of Rights and who realize that the witch hunt, though aimed primarily at the Communist Party for the moment, will be extended to the whole labor movement if the witch hunters have their way, should take up the battle or redouble their activities against the Smith Act.

## UAW URGED TO PUSH NEW PARTY FOR LABOR

DETROIT, Jan. 12 — The General Council of Ford Local 600, CIO United Automobile Workers, yesterday passed a resolution for submission to the coming convention of the UAW in March urging a break with the two-party system and formation of a "Farm Labor" Party.

Following the presidential election, the leadership of the local called for a reassessment of the support given by unions to the Democrats, and **Ford Facts**, weekly newspaper of the local, began pressing for formation of a labor party. Four top officers, Carl Stellato, President; Pat Rice, Vice-President; William R. Hood, Recording Secretary; and W. G. Grant, Financial Secretary, issued a statement declaring that "LABOR MUST LEAD THE WAY."

The resolution passed yesterday by the General Council carries this progressive development a step further.

"It has become obvious over the last decade," declares the resolution, "that neither of the two major political parties, one because of its inability to break with reactionary elements, the other because of its direct ties to the vested interest of Wall Street, can solve the immediate problems of the majority of the American people; the problems of taxation, of high cost of living, of job insecurity, of inadequate pensions, of inadequate medical care, of inadequate housing, of civil rights of minority groups."

**Moreover, "the basic problems of American society, the problems of war and depression have not been solved within the present two-party set up."**

It adds that "the last election has demonstrated beyond a doubt that the American people have run into a blind alley, and that large sections of the people turned in desperation to an Eisenhower to lead them out."

The responsibility for taking the lead in breaking out of the two-party straitjacket lies with labor. "The American labor movement is the most powerful the world has ever known and together with its natural allies, the minority groups, the tenants, sharecropper and small farmer, the white-collar workers, the liberals in the professional world, and the small business men who will follow the lead of a movement which can end depressions and wars and break the power of big business, constitutes the overwhelming majority of the American people."

Answering the old argument used by many trade union bureaucrats to avoid taking the road of independent political action, the resolution states: **"Contrary to those who have repeated through the years that 'now is not the time,' the last election has demonstrated that time is running out."**

The resolution urges the coming UAW-CIO Convention to "call upon the CIO to convene in the near future a Congress of Labor, to which shall be invited rank and file delegates of all interested Union bodies, be they AFL, UMW, or others, and representative Farm groups and which shall have the function of determining a program and setting in motion mechanics for the establishment of a Farm Labor Party in the United States."

The resolution further urges that "the UAW proceed immediately, along with other Union organizations, to the setting up of labor political organizations precinct by precinct."

# Stalin's Blood Purge Aimed at Internal Unrest

**By John G. Wright**

**On Jan. 13, Stalin unveiled in Moscow his first public blood purge inside the Soviet Union since the mass bloodlettings for which the infamous Moscow frameups set the stage in the Thirties. The signal for this new purge was given by the arrest of nine top-ranking Soviet physicians, all of them academicians, six of them of Jewish origin.**

The list of victims is headed by Professor P. I. Yegorov, chief of the Kremlin's medical administration and Professor V. N. Vinogradov, 71 years old, who was last year awarded the Order of Lenin. The others are: Prof. A. I. Feldman, ear and throat specialist; Prof. A. M. Grinshtein, neuropathologist; M. B. Kogan, B. B. Kogan, M. S. Vovsi and Y. G. Etinger, all of them professors; and "therapeutist" G. I. Malorov, who was likewise recently decorated.

All of them are charged with being members of "a terrorist group" who conspired "to shorten the lives of active leading figures in the Soviet Union by means of injurious treatment." Their alleged targets were the most prominent Soviet military figures, among them Marshal Vassilevsky, Soviet Defense Minister, and Marshal Konev, commander of the Soviet ground forces.

The arrested physicians are specifically charged with having murdered two members of the Political Bureau, Zhdanov, who died in 1948, and Scherbakov, who died in 1945.

These "physician-murderers" and "monsters with scientific degrees and titles," as the Soviet press labels them, were allegedly the paid hirelings of American and British intelligence services.

According to the Jan. 16 issue of the Cominform periodical **For a Lasting Peace** etc., "The majority of the members of this terror group (Vovsi, B. Kogan, Feldman, Grinshtein, Etinger and others) had sold themselves body and soul to the U.S. intelligence service which recruited them with the aid of 'Joint' — the international Jewish bourgeois-nationalist organization. . . . Other members of the terror group (Vinogradov, M. Kogan, Yegorov) proved to be British intelligence service agents of long standing."

The passage of years has not altered the character of Stalin's frameups. They remain extraordinarily crude and designed for the lowest type of mentality. The most obvious thing that hits one literally between the eyes is the discrepancy between the enormity of the charges and the alleged actual crimes ascribed to these "physician murderers."

They had presumably operated with impunity over a period of at least seven years. As a group they had among their patients not only the top military figures but the entire galaxy of Kremlin dignitaries, from Stalin down. They were free to undermine, beyond remedy, the health of every one of their highly placed clientele, if not to do away with most of them. **Yet Stalin's prosecution is able to serve up only two corpses — that of Zhdanov, four years dead, and that of Scherbakov, more than seven years dead!**

At the same time, this very discrepancy points to something else, namely to the fact that both Zhdanov and Scherbakov did not die natural deaths. They were murdered. There is only one individual in the Soviet Union who could have issued an order for the death of such highly placed individuals as Zhdanov and Scherbakov — and that is Stalin himself. It now serves his purpose to unload the blame for these murders, in passing, on the Kremlin doctors.

**1938 FRAMEUP**

This is not the first time Stalin has followed this device. At the last of the original Moscow frameups, in March 1938, there were four prominent physicians in the defendants' dock. They confessed to having "shortened the lives" of two members of the then Political Bureau — Kuibyshev and Menzhinsky as well as having killed the famous writer Maxim Gorki. The orders for these deaths came from Yagoda, while chief of the secret police, who was likewise in the defendants' dock. The initial order, then as later, could have come only from Stalin.

There is no question whatever that Stalin is personally behind the current arrests and purge. It was not the secret police that uncovered the "new conspiracy." It was the new secretariat, headed by Stalin, that took the initiative. The announcement came not through Beria, formal head of the various Soviet secret police departments, but through a relatively unknown figure, General Alexander N. Poskrebyshev, thus placing under a cloud not only the various secret-police ministries, but all the other governmental departments as well.

Stalin's frameups invariably pursue a specific political aim. The aim of the original Moscow frameups was to physically destroy Lenin's party. More than 150 of Lenin's closest and most prominent collaborators figured in the various public trials staged in the Thirties. Under the labels of "Trotskyism," of "Zinovievism" and "Bukharinism" Stalin destroyed every leading figure of the Bolshevik Party. And in addition to this entire revolutionary generation, he destroyed by the hundreds of thousands the Bolshevik cadres of the succeeding generations, especially the youth. In this way Stalin sought to root out all political opposition at the time.

The motivation for the blood purges of the Thirties was primarily INTERNAL. Can the same thing be said for what is happening today in the Soviet Union? In our opinion, this is the only correct evaluation. The signal for the purge was actually issued at the Nineteenth Congress of the Russian Party, one of whose keynotes was the need for the "continued reinforcement of the social regime and the Soviet state." And this amid the enormous Soviet successes!

Supplementing this demand for strengthening the state, that is, reinforcing the repressive apparatus, came warnings against "relaxation of vigilance," against the "revival" of "views and concepts hostile to us." In fact, Malenkov, in his keynote speech, singled out "all types of elements from the dregs of anti-Leninist groups" lying in wait and biding the opportunity for "dragging in their line and reviving and spreading" anti-Stalinist "viewpoints" and "conceptions."

Shortly thereafter "Trotskyism," by which the Kremlin designates first and foremost anti-Stalinist working-class opposition, was brought sharply to

(Continued on page 3)

# Capitalist and Socialist Prospects in America

By James P. Cannon

(The following lecture, the third in a series on "America's Road to Socialism," was given at the Los Angeles Friday Night Forum, Dec. 19, 1952.)

* * *

**America is no longer an island, sheltered and protected by two ocean barriers. America today is involved in the world. After all that has happened in modern times, especially since 1914, and particularly since the Second World War, it is pretty generally understood by all except a few Republican dinosaurs, that American isolationism has no basis in modern reality.**

The late Wendell Willkie is chiefly remembered for his sudden discovery and excited announcement that we live in "One World." That is true in more senses than one, and was known even before Willke made a trip to foreign lands and discovered that "the great globe itself" is really "round and firm and fully packed," even if it isn't "free and easy on the draw."

We do, indeed, live in one world in which no nation can any longer be an island to itself. But for the purposes of this discussion, I have temporarily, but only temporarily, and for convenience in the discussion, divided the world into two parts, the United States and the rest of the world.

Last week we discussed the prospects of capitalism and socialism in the world at large, outside the borders of our own country. This week we examine the prospects of these two rival and irreconcilable social systems in the United States itself.

The picture here, at least as it appears at first sight, is quite different in many respects. The United States is rich and prosperous, while the majority of the people in the rest of the world never get enough to eat.

Politically, the United States is conservative, even reactionary, and turning even further to the right, as shown by the Republican victory in the recent election. Throughout the rest of the world, from Europe to the Orient, the political trend is unmistakably to the left.

In the United States the capitalist system of production is strong and apparently secure. The same economic system in the rest of the world is obviously in a state of permanent crisis, declining and decaying, and in one sector after another giving way before the system of nationalized industry and planned economy, the material foundation and transition stage to socialism.

From the looks of things, again as they appear at first glance, the United States and the rest of the world are travelling in opposite directions, and can never meet and join together. **That, however, is an optical illusion. The two parts of one world are indissolubly bound together and the stronger part will unfailingly drag the other part along.**

Last week we rested and proved our case on a mass of known facts which unmistakably demonstrate the decline and decay of the capitalist system and the historical trend toward socialism in the rest of the world. The same case, in my opinion, can be proved in the United States. But here our approach is necessarily more theoretical.

And by theoretical, I don't mean "impractical" or visionary. I don't mean to disregard facts, but simply to put them in place. I propose to take the known facts in their interrelationship, trace them to their origin and consider them as elements in a process, and thus to bring out their full implications. By this theoretical method — it is the method of Marxism — of relating facts to each other and disclosing their implications, I will undertake to prove that America is no privileged "exception" and can by no means resist the pull of the historical tide.

Not only is socialism a possible outcome of the development of capitalism in the United States, it is the historically necessary and inevitable outcome.

Indeed, the very strength of American capitalism at the present moment, and its great victories and achievements of the past, will appear and be recognized in history as contributions to American socialism, preparing the material conditions and foundation for it, and making the socialist victory certain.

**Furthermore, the victory of socialism in the United States is not an ultimate goal of the far-off misty future. It is the perspective of the present epoch.**

## Luckiest and Most Favored

The United States, from its beginning, has been the luckiest and most favored of all capitalist nations. And thanks to the wisdom of its founders, and their continuators in its first century, it played its luck for all it was worth.

The thirteen original colonies started off with a thorough-going revolution which secured their independence, and thus freed the country from the foreign exploitation and political control which restricted and deformed the economic development of colonial lands such as India and China.

Our country, from the beginning, was also free from outlived feudal obstructions which hampered and restricted the free development of capitalism in Europe for decades and generations, and which, in some countries, persist even to this day.

In addition, thanks to its political centralization under one federal government, its economy was able to develop as a single unit over a vast territory, without customs barriers and expensive armies to guard them between the states; while Europe, due to historical conditions, is even today split up into a score or more of separate states, competing with each other, armed against each other, and jealously guarding their borders against the free flow of trade and commerce.

The centralized, single government created by the founding fathers gave, and continues to give, the United States of America great economic advantages over the dis-united states of Europe.

Finally, thanks to the revolution, the United States began with a bourgeois-democratic form of government without any monarchical trappings whatever; the very best arena for the free development of capitalism in its ascending stage.

## Two Revolutions on Time

The most fortunate nations are those which have their social revolutions when they are due. America owes its greatness as an economic power, not merely to one revolution, but to two, and both of them arrived on time.

**When the time had come for America's first revolution, it was carried through to the end by a resolute leadership. The second American revolution also came in time, and there was no fooling this time, either.**

The antiquated and inefficient economy based on slave labor had survived the first American revolution in the Southern states and tried to extend itself to the new territories being opened up. Slavery as an economic system stood as a barrier in the way of the development of the more efficent system of capitalist production based on wage labor.

Moreover, the attempted secession of the Southern slave states threatened to break up the political unity of the country and fragmentize it along European lines. This issue, properly described by Seward as the "irrepressible conflict," was also resolved in a thorough-going manner by the Civil War of the Sixties, which was also a social revolution, and a most beneficent one, too.

After some preliminary political fumbling and military indecisiveness on the part of generals who didn't know what the war was about, Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, and found a General to implement it. The Southern Confederacy, and with it the whole economic system based on chattel slavery, was hammered into dust by the iron fist of Grant.

The Civil War, America's second revolution, guaranteed the national unity of the states under one federal government and extended its domain from border to border and from coast to coast. Thus the political prerequisite for the unhampered development of the entire continent as one economic unit was secured for American capitalism by two revolutions.

**Why, then, should we throw fits over the word? That shows disrespect for the history of our country, or ignorance of it. We are where we are, and what we are, because of two revolutions.**

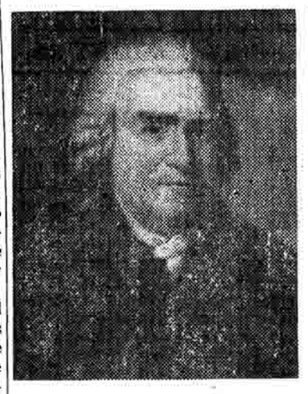
## Christmas Every Day

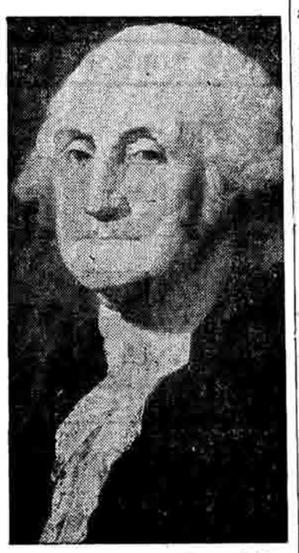
If the United States as a nation was born under the lucky star of one revolution, and had its political unity secured by another, its development and expansion as a capitalist economic power was also favored above all others by geographic factors.

These, in simple modesty we ought to admit, were not invented by the genius of American capitalism, but were laid in its lap as a gift of nature.

The new nation was also favored by the contradictions of European economy, which, operating blindly, as is the law of capitalism, aided its American rival to expand and eventually to become its master.

### *Led First American Revolution*





**Samuel Adams (Upper left), Thomas Jefferson (lower left) and George Washington, leaders of the 18th-century American revolution that freed the 13 original colonies from foreign exploitation and political control and secured their national independence.**

Expansion is the law of life for the capitalist system of economy. The profits extracted by the exploitation of wage labor must be invested in new fields. The surplus produce which the capitalists and their retainers can't consume and the workers can't buy, must be sold in other markets. New territory, new markets — that's what capitalism wants for Christmas every day of the year, and runs into trouble if it doesn't get it.

American capitalism, emerging from the Civil War with a unified country, found these new territories and markets right in its own back yard. It found a whole continent, larger in area than the European heartland of capitalism in the nineteenth century; larger than all of continental Western Europe, plus England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales and the Islands of the Hebrides.

American capitalism found a continent fabulously rich in fertile lands, plus coal, iron, timber, oil, metal — all the natural resources necessary for an expanding economy. And it was all their own. Their exclusive right and title to it was copyrighted in all languages, including the Scandinavian.

The geographical position of American capitalism gave it great advantages over its European rivals and guaranteed its victory over them in the long run. While the European states, stifling within their restricted national barriers, were compelled to find markets for their surplus goods, sources of raw materials, and fields of investment for their surplus capital in foreign lands, America had these markets and territories right at home, right in its own back yard. For decade after decade the ever-expanding frontier was pushed westward, and each new territory opened up became a new field for investment and a new market for surplus goods produced in the East.

In their insatiable hunt for raw materials and markets for their finished goods, as well as for the investment of their surplus capital, the European countries embarked on a vast program of colonial conquest. America's colonies were right at home in the newly opened territories on the frontier. They were richer, and yielded better returns; and they had the additional advantage of an internal river and lakes system that made transportation even cheaper than the sea lanes tying the old empires together, and no large standing armies were required to conquer and pacify them and keep them in subjection.

In this respect America had all the advantages in a material sense, plus the added virtue of appearing as the champion of national independence, with no interest in the acquisition of colonies. This combination of big profits and virtue which costs nothing, appealed powerfully to the Yankee sense of moral values, if not to its sense of humor.

## The Skill and Elbow Grease

America differed, to its advantage, from Europe in another way. While Europe was plagued with mass unemployment, causing all kinds of social unrest, the expanding American frontiers continuously drained off the surplus labor-power in the cities and provided many opportunities, unknown in Europe, for workers to rise out of the proletarian class and become small farmers or business men. At the same time, the relative labor shortage improved the position of the American workers in the labor market and compelled the employers to pay higher wages than were paid to the workers of Europe.

The net result of all this was to slow down the development of class consciousness, to cut the ground from beneath a radical and socialist labor movement, and to assure the political stability of the bourgeois regime in the United States. At the same time, the labor movement of Europe, where class divisions were firmly fixed, was growing and developing along socialist lines.

Capitalist Europe helped capitalist America to expand and develop in still another way — by exporting great masses of surplus workers and farmers. They came to the new land in succeeding waves of millions upon millions to supply the skill and manpower to build up the great new county: skilled workers from England, the original workshop of the world; German mechanics and farmers; Irish and Italian laborers; Jews and other refugees from Poland and Russia; and later, great waves of South Slavs, and others from the countries of Eastern Europe.

They came in their millions to America, as immigrants, to do the hard and dirty work of building up the country and piling up the profits of its owners. Asia, too, helped in this respect. The Union Pacific Railroad, for example, from California to Promontory Point, Utah, where the Golden Spike was driven to celebrate the first union of the entire continent by rail, was built by Chinese laborers with their picks and shovels, in the same way they are building new railroads in the new China today.

The relative shortage of labor which compelled the American capitalists to pay higher wages than the capitalists of Europe — as much as two and three times higher in some cases — was turned into an advantage for the development of American industry. It compelled and stimulated the introduction of labor-saving machinery and all the modern processes of increasing the productivity of labor, while reducing the labor force.

Finally, and perhaps most important of all, European capitalism stimulated and helped the lothouse growth and expansion of its American rival by huge investments of its surplus capital. The building of the American railroad system, for example, was financed mainly by English capital; Holland, France, Switzerland and Germany also contributed a considerable volume.

**So, in summing things up, with due regard to the facts, we ought to admit, in all frankness, that the prodigious growth of the American economic giant, until it grew bigger than all others and overshadowed all others, was not entirely due to the genius of American business men and bankers.**

Two revolutions were the starting impulsion. Great natural and geographic advantages provided the arena. The political and economic disunity of Europe gave America another advantage. European capital investments speeded up the construction of the greatest enterprises. And European labor provided a great deal of the skill and elbow grease to build up the industry and agriculture of this country.

European capitalism did all this blindly, not with any good intention, but because it couldn't help itself, and therefore deserves no special gratitude. But the rich American capitalists really shouldn't begrudge the few billions in loans and gifts which they are now handing out to Europe as a beggar's dole. Charity is doubly sweet to the donor when it can be bestowed on a former benefactor at a big discount.

## Gold from the Trenches of Europe

Along about the turn of the century, America's conquest of its own continent was just about completed and there was no place else to go. Father Neptune drew a line at the water's edge of the Pacific and said, "You can't go any farther here." The free land was gone, and all the new territories were pretty well settled up. The problem of new markets for the ever-increasing surpluses, piled up by the ever-increasing productivity of American labor, was becoming Problem Number One.

In 1907 there was a crisis. And again in 1914 there was mounting unemployment. It was then that the European capitalist nations, America's perennial Santa Claus, once again came to the rescue of American economy.

They involved themselves in a destructive war over markets, colonies, spheres of influence and fields of investment, and America warmed its hands by the fire. Remaining benevolently neutral on the side of the Allies for the first three years of the war, America found in the war itself the richest market it could ever have dreamed of.

While the normal peace-time economy of the Western Allies was dislocated by the war, American factories worked overtime to supply their deficiencies. America was still a debtor nation when the war started, but the huge purchases which France and England were compelled to make in America soon cancelled out all indebtedness. America emerged as a creditor nation, even before the war was over.

At the same time, while the Western Allies and Germany were busy in their life-and-death battle, America obligingly edged them out of the South American market. This provided another outlet for the endless supply of goods rolling from the assembly lines in all kinds of factories from one end of the United States to another.

So great were the demands of the war in Europe, for goods and materials, that America was obliged to expand its productive plant, and thereby its productive capacities, in order to supply them.

When America, after a hugely profitable delay of three years, finally entered the war in order to protect her loans to the Allied powers, she only had to tip the scales a bit to finish off the Kaiser's Army.

Comparatively speaking, America was scarcely touched by the war, in terms of casualties, and was enormously enriched by it in economic and financial terms. Exhausted Europe emerged from the war as America's debtor and dependent, and has remained in that position, under increasingly degrading conditions, ever since.

The First World War brought America to the position of leading power in the capitalist world, having no further need of any more capital investments from Europe, or any more of Europe's manpower. Since then, America has been concerned only with the problem of propping-up Europe with loans, sufficient to enable it to ward off collapse and the danger of revolution, without allowing it to enter the world market again as a real competitor.

Capitalist America, the beneficiary in its youth of the aid of capitalist Europe, became in the period of its maturity the ungrateful nemesis of this same Europe.

The impoverishment of Europe, rendered permanent by the economic and financial domination of the United States, deprives it of any further prospect of expansion on a capitalist basis. **Therewith, the living standards of the European workers are degraded and they are pushed on the road of radicalization and revolution.**

## "History Is Bunk"

America's progress up to the First World War had been steadily upward along a straight line, with no serious complications. The American capitalists, who were the beneficiaries of all this historical luck, imagined themselves to be the authors of it. Everything had seemed simple. All you had to do was to open up new territories, increase production and get richer, and everything else would be added unto you.

As long as things worked out that way, they saw no need of theory, no need of philosophy, no need to bother about the rest of the world. But with the outcome of the First World War, and the chronic impoverishment of Europe, the complications for America began. Isolationism, which up to then had been the almost universal American doctrine, was called into question by some of the bourgeois political thinkers, notably by Woodrow Wilson.

It was becoming clear to them that America's rise to the position of first power in the world involved it in all the affairs of the world. The United States was no longer isolated and alone, secure on an island protected by two oceans. Its investments and its interests extended all over the capitalist world, and all the crises and revolutionary disturbances in any part of the world became lodged in America's own foundations.

There was one historically brief period, however, when all that was forgotten, when all America, capitalists, middle class and workers alike, relaxed in carefree optimism. That was the period of the Great American Boom of the post-war period, in the Twenties.

The increase in foreign trade, the yawning foreign market for American capital in the form of loans and investments, which were freely supplied from America with the naive confidence that they would surely be returned with big interest (nobody had told them that nations as well as business firms can go bankrupt); the accumulated demands in the building industry which had piled up during the war, and other demands of the internal market, including the great new demand for automobiles and agricultural machinery — all this provided the conditions for a prosperity which soon reached the proportions of a boom.

Pragmatism, that peculiar and distinctive American philosophy, the philosophy of no philosophy, which recognizes nothing that it cannot see, and considers what it sees as fixed and final, had a final fling in the fantastic boom days of the 1920's.

With the exception of a handful of Marxists, who considered facts of the day from the point of view of how they began, and in what direction they were moving, the American people — capitalists, college professors, middle class and workers — indulged themselves in an orgy of faith: faith in the fantastic delusion that American business genius had solved the problem of permanent prosperity.

The sober analysis and conclusions of Marx, dealing with reality as it is in process, and not merely as it appears at the moment, became the object of refutation and ridicule by all kinds of theoretical triflers and economic smart-alecs and pipsqueaks.

Marx said history is a process of social evolution preparing a new form of social organization. But Henry Ford said, "History is bunk," and that struck the popular note. "Karl Marx is dead! Long Live Henry Ford!" That's what they were all shouting, in effect, on the very day the boom blew up in the stock-market crash on a damp October day in 1929.

## America Catches Up with Marx

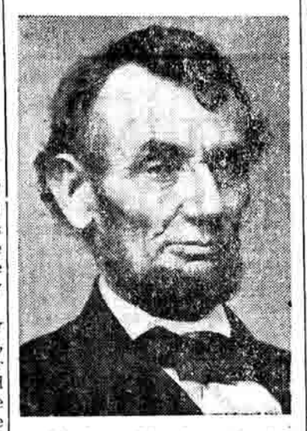
The stock market crash and the ensuing crisis showed that facts are not always what they look like, standing alone. They are the outcome of preceding facts and also causative factors of new changes in a continuous process.

The crisis of the Thirties demonstrated that American capitalist economy has no immunity from the laws which govern the same capitalist economy in other countries; that if its crises had been deferred by exceptionally favorable factors in the past, it was only to accumulate the material for a more powerful explosion when it came.

**The contradictions of capitalism simply caught up with its favored American sector and made it pay double for the delay. The crisis put a question mark over the future of American capitalism and made the American people crisis-conscious and fearful of the future. The old confidence in the future of capitalism and the feeling of security had gone with the wind.**

The crisis of 1929, which lasted ten years, with some ups and downs within the crisis, was never solved except by the artificial means of expenditures for war and armaments. That was no solution, it was only a postponement. The unsolved crisis was still latent in the American economy after the end of World War II and was making its way ominously to the surface, when the huge new armaments program of the cold war again pushed it back. But the crisis is still there, still latent, silently growing like a malignant cancer in the body of American economy.

### *Leader of Second American Revolution*



**Abraham Lincoln, who led the Union to victory over the Southern slave-holders, in the 19th Century American Revolution which established the prerequisites for the unhampered expansion and development of America across the continent as an economic and political unit. Other great figures of the struggle against slavery included Frederick Douglas, an escaped slave, and Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, who headed the Union armies.**

Can expenditures for armaments, and even for war, provide a permanent cure for the sick economy whose expanded productive forces collide against a shrinking market in a shrinking capitalist world? Can America provide the conditions of permanent prosperity which will moderate the class struggle at home and prevent the development of a determined class consciousness on the part of the working class, and thereby secure for itself a long and stable existence? Or do all the signs prove the opposite?

These are questions which even the most foolhardy bourgeois economists, after the catastrophe of their prophecies in the previous boom period, hesitate to answer. The best they will say is, "It looks all right for the time being, but we don't know all the facts and we can't tell what's going to be."

We Marxists, on the other hand, say we know the facts. At least we know enough of them, and the general direction of their development, to tell what is going to be. And on this solid basis of facts in their process of development, we confidently assert that American capitalism has already passed the peak of its development and has no place to go from now on, but down.

**The historical luck of American capitalism is running out. All those factors which favored its development from the beginning, cushioned the shocks of cyclical crises, and enabled it to grow at the expense of other capitalist nations, are either exhausted or turning into their opposites.**

## In a Bad Way

The internal market has reached the saturation point, and cannot be further extended. The frontier territories, which once absorbed huge amounts of surplus good and capital, are long since settled up and fully developed, and most of them now produce their own surpluses. Our own state of California is a shining example of a former "importer" becoming an "exporter."

Any prospect of stabilizing American economy on the basis of its internal market is absolutely excluded. Increased foreign trade, won by the United States as a result of the First World War, helped to spark the great economic boom of the Twenties. But now, the world market, which America dominates as a result of its economic preponderance and the bankruptcy of its rivals, no longer offers an adequate outlet for America's glut of capital and surplus goods.

To be sure, the backward countries need what America produces to excess, but they can't pay for it. That difficulty might be overcome by loans and credits if these countries had stable bourgeois governments which the United States could trust to guarantee eventual payment. But there are very few such governments left in the world, and their number is decreasing.

The advanced industrial countries, on the other hand, need to increase their own exports. They not only need to share in the world market, where America crowds them out, but also want access to the American market, which America bars by tariffs. The domination of the world market, which America fell heir to in the epoch of capitalist decline, offers no solution of her economic problem.

Of the various factors which once contributed to the rise and expansion of American capitalism, there remains only the factor of revolution which provided its first big impulsion.

Revolutions of the same kind are still taking place in the world, and American capitalism is partly responsible for them, but is not benefited by them. By its greedy, monopolistic and reactionary policy, it helps to ruin the economy of other countries, and drive the people to revolution. Then it tries to stop the revolutions with money, guns and bombs.

They act something like a schizophrenic fireman I once heard of, who was also a pyromaniac. He ran himself ragged all day trying to put out the fires he had started the night before. He never could catch up with his work.

America's schizophrenic policy of revolution and counter-revolution is a hopeless undertaking. Revolution, the benevolent friend of American capitalism in its infancy and surging adolescence, has become its mortal enemy in its twilight years. All the old avenues of expansion and development are closed off. American capitalist economy is in a blind alley. There is no way out.

**From these economic facts we conclude that American capitalism is doomed, and that socialism will take its place.**

This transformation, of course, will not take place automatically. A little political action will be required. But the economic facts we have summarized are preparing all the conditions for this political action and will generate all the necessary forces to assure its success.

The victory of Socialist America is already written in the stars.

### 'Astounded'

**"Astounded" was the word chosen by the railroad barons to describe their reaction to rail-labor's demand for a yearly 3% productivity wage increase.**

**The RR corporations, whose net profits in 1952 were $82 million more than in 1951, are opposing any wage increases at government board hearings.**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## Lawyers Need Defense

Since 1791 it has been constitutional law in this country that an accused person is entitled to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

Grave infringements of this constitutional right by present-day witch hunters reached a dangerous extreme in 1949 when Judge Harold R. Medina jailed for alleged "contempt" the lawyers defending eleven Communist Party leaders victimized under the thought-control Smith Act.

Judge Medina's example has been imitated by other judges in later trials.

As a result lawyers have become fearful that defense of persons holding ideas not approved by the witch hunters would lead to their own victimization through loss of clients, imprisonment for "contempt" and disbarment from the legal profession.

Victims of the witch hunters have consequently found it increasingly difficult to secure adequate legal counsel.

This situation has become so outrageous that counter-measures have been undertaken by some sections of the legal profession. A current instance is the formal declaration of the New York City Bar Association that it will strive to educate the legal profession and the public "on the rights and duties of a lawyer in representing any client, regardless of the unpopularity of either the client or his cause."

The association affirmed the right of a lawyer to represent any client "without having imputed to him his client's reputation, views or character."

The New York City Bar Association is to be commended for this stand in support of a fundamental right guaranteed by the Constitution. Members of the legal profession everywhere in the country would do well to follow a similar course.

All organizations and individuals who believe in protecting fundamental civil liberties should give full backing to the lawyers in their fight to preserve their constitutional rights.

## Protect the Escalator Clause

The sliding scale of wages or escalator clause, which was designed to keep wages automatically abreast of the rise in the cost of living, thus permitting unions to conserve their strength for battles to raise the base wage, has already proved its worth. Two facts attest this: (1.) Over a million workers in the auto industry — where the escalator clause was established in 1948 — are now receiving 25 cents an hour in escalator increases. (2.) Big Business doesn't like escalator clauses and tried to get rid of them when the Wage Stabilization Board instituted wage controls.

Big Business did not succeed in this and the escalator clauses remained in effect, indeed they even spread. But Big Business knows there is more than one way to skin a cat and it is now having the government's Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) finagle the cost-of-living index to which union escalator clauses are tied.

The BLS has announced as an accomplished fact the institution of a new index. The two old indexes moreover, are to be discontinued. Thus unions operating on the old indexes cannot continue to do so in preference to accepting the new one. Nor will it be possible to show how much worse the new index is by comparing it with the old. At the same time the BLS is trying to pass off this switching of the rules in the middle of the game as mere arithmetic.

Even more ominous is the fact that the BLS has radically changed the "market basket," that is the list of goods whose prices are watched to determine the rise in the cost of living for the average family, and announces that it will frequently revise its statistical market basket in the future. Thus the government statisticians, or the men who give them their orders, not only expect to get away with this current piece of statistical robbery but plan to do it frequently in the future.

Last week we cited the official warning of the American Federation of Labor to its affiliates about the new BLS index. Now the Congress of Industrial Organizations has also warned against the new index. The CIO statement makes many valid criticisms of the new index and strongly urges "the parallel publication of another index which takes into account the taxes paid by people."

Correct as the criticisms and suggestions of the AFL and CIO leaders are they have as yet been silent on the central point at issue. The BLS is a government agency and as long as Big Business controls the government it will controls the BLS. Until there is a Labor government in the U.S. the BLS will minimize the true rise in living costs. Therefore unions can safeguard the wages of their members only by setting up their own statistical agency to determine the real fluctuations in prices. Escalator clauses should be tied to this union index. That's the only index workers can trust as dependable.

## What About Tax Relief?

What's to be done about getting tax relief? We mean tax relief for the lower income brackets, of course, not the big corporations and millionaire stockholders who can count on being taken care of in view of their monopoly of Congress and the White House.

A possible course is suggested by some steps taken by the Ohio CIO. At their convention a year ago, they authorized an impartial, objective survey of the state's tax structure. Completion of the survey was announced at the recent Ohio CIO convention and it is to be printed and distributed to "all interested in fair taxation."

A resolution, passed by the convention in the light of the facts uncovered by the survey, charges that the "state's tax burden has been unfairly distributed with an unequal share piled on the shoulders of wage earners."

The Ohio legislature, says the resolution, "consistently ignored the time-honored principle of 'ability to pay' and had granted tax relief to those best able to pay the cost of government; heaped new taxes on the shoulders of those least able to cope with this burden and encouraged near-bankrupt political subdivisions to treat miserably those unfortunate citizens dependent upon public welfare."

The study cites how little property taxes have risen since 1930 while sales taxes "skyrocketed." According to the survey, 78% of all Ohio tax revenues come from sales and excise taxes.

To correct the evils, the CIO convention demands a graduated state income tax on corporation and personal earnings with exemptions for small wage earners and deductions for all dependents. With the establishment of this new tax structure, the CIO demands abolition of the 3% state sales tax, prohibition of city payroll taxes and repeal of special tax preferences granted corporations.

In our opinion, the recommendations of the Ohio CIO are worth careful consideration, especially the demand for abolition of the sales tax which weighs most heavily on the poor. And we see no point in waiting for establishment of a new tax structure before insisting on this relief measure.

Tax exemption for small wage earners is another suggestion that seems to us should be picked up as a fighting demand by the whole labor movement. We suggest no taxes on any income below $7,500. We think the unions would do well to insist, as an immediate relief measure, that taxes be included as a component in determining the cost of living index to which escalator clauses are tied. A rise in taxes would then automatically be compensated by a rise in wages.

The recommendation to repeal special tax preferences for corporations is a good one. It might well be supplemented by a demand for a 100% tax on the profits of war industries.

The objective study made by the Ohio CIO is a promising beginning. We would like to see it followed up by similar studies by other union bodies. And such surveys should not be confined to single states but should take in the federal tax structure. Armed with documented facts, the unions will be able to wage a far more effective struggle on the political front for the tax relief needed by every working class family in the country.

# Stalinists to Emphasize "Coalition" Politics

By Art Preis

**As reported in the Jan. 12 Militant, the National Committee of the Communist Party has published a Draft Resolution finally drawing the balance sheet on the debacle of its adventuristic five-year attempt to build the Progressive Party into a third major party in America.**

The Stalinist leaders now say they were wrong "to have favored the departure of the Wallace forces without masses from the Democratic Party"; that they wrongly represented the formation of the Progressive Party as "the emergence of a great mass people's party"; that no such party can arise "except out of the basic mass trade union and people's organizations"; and that the PP "is not and cannot be a major vehicle in the emergence of a mass people's party led by labor." They propose a "substantial modification of its (PP's) role."

This "substantial modification" is not spelled out in the resolution. But the resolution does clearly indicate that the CP's previous emphasis on "third party" politics, with only incidental support to "coalition" candidates of the two old capitalist parties, is to be replaced by a major stress on "coalition" with capitalist party elements, particularly the "progressive" forces within the Democratic Party.

A fact that stands out in the resolution is that the Stalinists are gravely concerned about their present isolation from all significant strata of the American masses, especially the organized workers. They realize that they cannot effectively serve the diplomatic needs of the Soviet bureaucracy, which is their real political aim and function, unless they have mass influence.

Their resolution puts a heavy stress, therefore, on the "maximum development of PAC (CIO Political Action Committee), LLPE (AFL Labor's League for Political Education) and NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) activities in every shop, local and community. . ."

The CP leaders do not propose, however, that their members enter these labor and Negro organizations in order to encourage an immediate break from the capitalist two-party system. They urge instead support of the program of the opportunist, pro-capitalist union bureaucracy for "struggle" inside the Democratic Party. Thus, while paying lip-service to the idea of a third party led by labor as a future "historic task," in practice the Stalinist leaders would reinforce the political policies of the union officials who oppose a labor party and who seek to channelize the workers' aspirations for genuine independent labor political activity into further attempts to "take over" the capitalist Democratic Party.

The Stalinists constitute the most active, best-organized and disciplined tendency inside the PP and the CP decision will undoubtedly prevail, if for no other season than that the Stalinists can mobilize effectively to put through the policies they desire. They are held back only to the extent that they do not wish to strain relations with their allies or with what remains of the non-Stalinist elements in the PP.

Their principal and strongest ally has been ex-Congressman Vito Marcantonio who has long had the backing of a considerable personal machine of his own among the Italian, Puerto Rican and Negro workers of East Harlem. Although Marcantonio has never disclosed any differences with the Stalinists on fundamental political policies and program, there has been increasing evidence of friction on tactical questions. **Thus, according to report, the Marcantonio wing in the American Labor Party (New York affiliate of the PP) recently opposed the ALP going on record formally to support the condemned Rosenbergs and the Stalinists acceded to a formula which merely did not oppose ALP members as individuals from participating in the Rosenbergs' defense.**

VITO MARCANTONIO

The latest report is that Marcantonio has declared himself against any move to liquidate the ALP and that a full-blown fight on the issue may be in the making between the Marcantonio group, which is strong in the ALP leading committees, and the Stalinists. Whatever the formal outcome of this fight, the CP could automatically reduce most of the ALP branches to a shell by withdrawing Stalinist members and sympathizers.

The CP leaders' resolution speaks of "resistance" within their party to the policy of more "coalition" politics. It is hard to determine the scope of this resistance because even the mildest questioning suffices to throw the Stalinist bureaucrats into a panic and to crack the whip. It is not likely that CP members with "rigid third party" attitudes will put up much opposition when the tops lay down the law.

Inside the PP and the little groups around its periphery there are, however, some non-Stalinist, dissident Stalinist and semi-Stalinist persons who for various reasons, both good and bad, disagree with the CP leaders' perspectives for the PP. Among the most articulate are those who have been pushing for the conversion of the PP into a "socialist" party.

Leo Huberman, co-editor of the **Monthly Review**, which designates itself as an "Independent Socialist Magazine," in a symposium in the magazine just prior to the elections, expressed his concern over the pro-capitalist program of the PP and the fact "that the Progressive Party is not a socialist party . . , it should, I think, stand four-square for socialism." He nevertheless stated his intention to vote for the PP candidates as a "protest" against both the Democratic and Republican programs which are leading "along the road to national defeat and disaster."

An editorial in the Dec. 1952 **Monthly Review** on the results of the election made no direct mention of the PP but stated the conviction that the struggle for peace and democracy is the fight for socialism. Without mentioning the Stalinists by name, although obviously referring to them, the editorial says: "Some people tell us the issue of capitalism versus socialism is a remote one, and that the real issues of today are war versus peace and fascism versus democracy. If you want to know **why** we are faced with the alternatives of war or peace, fascism or democracy, you must first understand capitalism and socialism. And if you want to build up a solid core of reliable fighters for peace and democracy, you'd better start by converting more people to socialism."

**No Marxist and revolutionary socialist can do other than commend such sentiments. The great task, indeed, is to convert more people to socialism. An understanding of that is the absolute starting point for any effective program to defeat war and reaction. But it is just the starting point.**

We have no reason to question Huberman's sincerity on this score. The questions we would raise, however, are how he proposes to achieve the goal of socialism, what vehicle — what party — he has in mind. What kind of party does he think can defeat mighty American capitalism? What of the existing parties which claim to advance the program of socialism? What advantage would some new party have over the old ones?

As Huberman well knows, there are and have been for many years three major international tendencies calling themselves "socialist" or "communist." They are the Social-Democrats, the Stalinists and the Trotskyists.

Huberman was formerly closely associated with the Stalinists. He was the educational director of the CIO National Maritime Union when it was entirely in the control of the Stalinists. Certainly, he owes some full and unambiguous explanation of his views on Stalinism.

At the public forum which the **Monthly Review** sponsors, and which meets occasionally in New York City, Huberman recently slanderously lumped the Socialist Workers Party, which supports the Trotskyist views, with the Socialist Party of Norman Thomas as being "objectively anti-Soviet." He is reported to have said after the meeting to individuals who asked an explanation that he considered the SWP "anti-Soviet" because it "attacks Stalin." It is clear from this remark, as well as his failure to offer any basic criticism of Stalinism from a Marxist point of view, that Huberman has no fundamental understanding of the inherently counter-revolutionary character of the Soviet bureaucracy and the nature of the American Communist Party as a political agent of that bureaucracy. His known criticism of the Stalin regime is only that there are "not enough civil liberties" in the Soviet Union.

One can also question the realism of any perspective looking toward converting the PP into any kind of serious socialist party. Its principal base is the Stalinists, who certainly won't stand for any new competitor if they can help it, and remnants of the old Wallaceite middle-class wing and other "progressives" who in Huberman's own expressed views more properly belong in the "left wing" of the Democratic Party.

What organized following, if any, Huberman and his **Monthly Review** associates actually command is difficult to assess. His magazine has a claimed circulation of 4,500, but these undoubtedly comprise people of widely differing political views who read the **Monthly Review** as an interesting "discussion" publication. Similarly, the **Monthly Review** forum, which occasionally attracts as many as 250 people, draws a largely middle-class intellectual and white-collar worker audience of a rainbow political hue. There is no indication, therefore, that Huberman and his following can or will counterpose a serious challenge to the Stalinist line in the Progressive Party.

Thus it apears that the remnants of the Progressive Party, according to the present CP plans, are consigned for oblivion so far as being any kind of significant political factor on the American scene in the future.

## *Their 13 Co-Defendants Convicted*

**Isadore Begun (1.) and Simon W. Gerson, who were freed on judge's directed verdict of acquittal midway during the Smith Act trial in which 13 Communist Party leaders were convicted last week. See story on Page 1.**

## Ford Local Backs Fight on Trucks Police-State Law

(Continued from page 1)

**tion elsewhere and the Supreme Court legal rulings on the Trucks Law will have considerable effect upon the democratic rights of all the American people."**

"The Michigan CIO Council in its last convention strongly condemned the Trucks Act as a totalitarian measure imperiling free speech and a threat to our fundamental political freedoms."

"A broad non-partisan citizens committee known as the Citizens Committee Against the Trucks Law has been organized to conduct an educational campaign against this legislation and to assure a full legal test of every aspect of this police state measure."

"Therefore, be it resolved, that this 14th UAW-CIO Convention go on record as condemning the Trucks Law as a violation of fundamental democratic rights and a threat to the entire labor movement, and be it finally resolved, that we endorse and pledge our full support to the Citizens Committee Against the Trucks Law in their work against this undemocratic legislation."

## McConnell Freed

**PFC Warren McConnell, the Korea soldier who was sentenced to 10 years at hard labor for dozing off after he had been 72 hours without sleep, has been acquitted of all charges at a second court martial. The second trial was won by the determined efforts of McConnell's family who enlisted their communities — Alloway and Penns Grove, N. J. — in a protest campaign that forced the brass hats to back down.**

## STALIN AIMS NEW PURGE AT INTERNAL UNREST

(Continued from page 1)

the fore at the Slansky frameup in Czechoslovakia.

The Moscow press is now raising the same hue and cry around the arrest of the nine physicians. Significantly the lead was taken by the periodical of the Russian Communist Youth, the **Komsomolskaya Pravda** which talked about the "pitiful bandit scum" left over from the blood purges of the Thirties and attacked "Trotskyites," "Zinovievites," and "Bukharinites" still operating in the Soviet Union allegedly "under orders of western intelligence services."

### IMMEDIATE TARGET

The cries of "Vigilance, Vigilance, Vigilance," so prominent in the Thirties are being echoed and re-echoed once again.

Once again the aim is to physically destroy any actual or potential political opposition. The immediate target is the bureaucracy itself, beginning with the Soviet intellectuals.

For the first time, the Cominform paper openly admits that anti-Stalinist views are widely held by entire strata of Soviet intellectuals. It talks of "the existence of unstable strata of intelligentsia infected" — with all sorts of deviations.

The Soviet physicians are among the most pampered and privileged segments of the Soviet bureaucracy. Like the top-ranking literary lights and big technicians and engineers, the ranking medical academicians live in a style surpassed only by the "big chiefs" of the Kremlin.

By striking at a group of physicians, celebrated and titled and closely linked with the Kremlin tops, Stalin means to convey that nobody is immune.

By deliberately injecting anti-Semitism into his latest purge operations, Stalin involuntarily underlines both the arch-reactionary character of his regime as well as the irreconcilable conflict between his regime and the vital needs of Soviet economic life and of the Soviet people.

**At the same time Stalin has handed the American imperialists and all the enemies of the Soviet Union the biggest political and diplomatic gift they could have hoped or dreamed for.**

## 'I Stake My Life'

By Leon Trotsky

Leon Trotsky's name is again in the press! The great revolutionary socialist leader who was murdered by an agent of Stalin in 1940 is still listed in the Kremlin as a mortal foe — his emancipating ideas cannot be buried!

Read why Trotsky made the following sensational promise to an impartial commission willing to seriously investigate the charges made against him in the Moscow frame-up trials: " . . . if this Commission decides that I am guilty in the slightest degree of the crimes which Stalin imputes to me, I pledge in advance to place myself voluntarily in the hands of the executioners of the GPU."

20 pages 10 cents

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## World Events

By Charles Hanley

**LEON TROTSKY'S** biography of Stalin has been published in German by Kiepenheuer-Witsch, one of the biggest West German publishing houses, **Labor Action** reports. English and French editions of the book appeared in recent years, but the German edition is the best, according to the correspondent of **Labor Action**.

* * *

**WEST GERMAN** miners scored an important victory Jan. 16 in one of their first great post-war tests of strength with the industrial magnates of the Ruhr. The mine owners accepted the miners' demand for a reduction of daily working hours from eight to seven and a half without reduction of pay. Chancellor Adenauer supported the miners' demand because he was afraid of a coal strike that might have crippled his economic program.

* * *

**SEVEN NAZIS** were arrested Jan. 15 by British occupation authorities for plotting against the Bonn regime. They are a former State Secretary in Goebbels' Propaganda Ministry (who was named Minister of Propaganda in Hitler's will); the former Gauleiter of Salzburg (named in Hitler's will as Minister for Science and Culture); the former Gauleiter of Hamburg; a former SS general and administrator of concentration camps; and three other high officials of the Third Reich, one of whom is a part owner of the Punktal steel works in Solingen.

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**EUGENE VARGA**, well-known Soviet economist has recanted his view that war between capitalist countries is less likely than an attack on the Soviet bloc by capitalist countries headed by the U.S. "I acknowledge that on this question I was mistaken," he is reported to have declared last November. "Comrade Stalin presented an exhaustive basis for the inevitability of war between capitalist countries in the contemporary stage."

* * *

**THE NEW FRENCH** government headed by Rene Mayer decided Jan. 16 to reduce military spending in 1953 by at least $2,800,000 as compared to 1952. The total military budget for 1953 amounts to $3,997,000,000 (including expenditures for the Indo-Chinese war). This is $288,000,000 less than the U.S. suggested last fall.

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**FASCIST BUTCHER FRANCO** of Spain is reported to be ready to sign a 20-year military alliance with Washington.

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**AVERELL HARRIMAN**, who is retiring as Director for Mutual Security, expressed concern Jan. 17 over a deal by Ceylon to ship 250,000 tons of rubber to New China in the next five years. The U.S. had offered world market prices for the rubber, Harriman pointed out, while China consented to pay 40% more. A factor in the Ceylonese deal with China was the Chinese promise to deliver 270,000 tons of rice yearly. (Ceylon is heavily dependent on food imports.) The U.S. also offered to send rice to Ceylon, but the price was too high.

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**THE FIRST** purchase of Bolivian tin by the U.S. Reconstruction Finance Corporation since Bolivia nationalized its tin mines was announced in Washington Jan. 16. The U.S. will purchase 5,000 tons at $1.17½ a pound, f.o.b. South American ports.

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# THE MILITANT

VOLUME XVII — MONDAY, JANUARY 26, 1953 — NUMBER 4


The Negro Struggle

## A False Policy

By Jean Blake

Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, speaking Jan. 17 before the Cleveland City Club Forum, cited the generally acknowledged fact that America is the most hated nation in the world and argued that leading Negroes should be named to official posts abroad in order to sell the people in other countries the idea that the United States is their rightful leader in the struggle for democracy. "We have been unable to sell democracy abroad because we don't practice it at home," he said. "We have a bi-partisan foreign policy backed up by a bi-partisan Jim-Crow policy."

He proposed that the State Department appoint Dr. Ralph Bunche as ambassador to the Soviet Union and other prominent Negroes to other posts to represent the U.S. abroad. This is what most leading Negro spokesmen have urged.

But would this really still the criticism of this country as an undemocratic, white-supremacist, imperialist nation? And if it did, would that advance the struggle against Jim Crow here at home?

Negro ambassadors could not change State Dept. policies supporting the colonial powers in Asia and Africa. Capitalist America is the chief bulwark of the oppressors of darker peoples all over the world and right now is waging direct warfare against half the people of Asia. As long as Washington helps suppress colonial independence struggles, no American ambassador, no matter how dark his skin, can sell American democracy to Asians and Africans. Last May Day in Japan, A. Philip Randolph, as well as Norman Thomas, was prevented from speaking at a Japanese workers' rally because they came as apologists for U.S. imperialism.

How would State Dept. appointments of Negroes affect the fight against Jim Crow here? The "smart" strategists tell us "off the record" that what they really seek is to use the foreign policy aims as a weapon in the battle against our own Jim Crow. The inconsistency of Negroes in high posts abroad, but not at home, they claim, would embarrass the government into making concessions here; besides the added prestige thus gained by leading Negroes would "rub off" on all Negroes.

Actually, the probable results would be considerably different. Those few Negroes appointed to posts abroad would feel responsible for whitewashing segregation and discrimination in America in order to make U.S. "democracy" more salable in other lands. While they would not fool colored peoples abroad, they would weaken the bargaining position of the American colored people.

And don't forget, even Dr. Ralph Bunche, head of the department of trusteeship for the United Nations, still can't eat in many restaurants or sleep in many hotels throughout our great democracy. You won't sell that kind of "democracy" to colored people either abroad or at home.

## Double-talk on Child Care

By Joyce Cowley

"The exigencies of the times have made the employment of women, especially those with homemaking responsibilities, a question where the basic issue involves measures to facilitate the adjustment of the home and the community to the social and economic change in women's place in the American economy."

I'm quoting from a recent pamphlet published by the Women's Bureau, "Employment of Women in an Emergency Period." If you think about it for a minute — as I did — some meaning may glimmer through the dense growth of words. It means, I concluded, that they are concerned with the problems of working women — especially the millions of women who work and keep house, too. Certainly these problems *should* be of great concern to the Women's Bureau and I thought optimistically that I might find a program for child care centers, summer camps, shopping and laundry services.

The next paragraph set me straight on that point. "The lack of adequate provision for the care of children and other dependents creates conditions which have a direct bearing on turnover, absenteeism and loss of productivity."

It's not us but our employers they're worried about! I can think of quite a few "conditions that have a direct bearing" on whether or not a woman gets to work and how useful she is to the boss —

Say you need the money, you want to work, but you can't find a decent care center for your boy. You don't want to, but you quit for a while until you can make some arrangement for his care. This has a direct bearing on "turnover."

Or you're worried sick because you've got two kids home from school with measles. You're afraid of losing your job but there's no one else available to take care of them, so you stay home. This has a direct bearing on "absenteeism."

You have a girl eight years old. Most of the year she's in school but during the summer months you can't afford a camp and you worry about her playing all day on the hot city streets. She has a key for the apartment and there's lunch in the icebox but there may be an accident. She may get into some kind of trouble. You sit at work thinking about it, your mind miles away from the job. It can have a direct bearing on "loss of productivity."

But I'm afraid we can't rely on the enlightened self-interest of the boss to find a remedy for these conditions. I don't think the government is planning to do much about it, either.

Each year there's a higher percentage of women in the labor force. Not only that, but the majority of women who take jobs now are married and at least half of them have young children. Each year the average age of the woman worker goes up. She is now 38. Not a young girl just waiting to get married so that she can quit her job!

We don't need "emergency" measures. We need a long-range program for working women based on recognition of the fact they are a permanent and essential part of the country's labor force. Free government nursery schools for all children is the first step in a program to meet the needs of American working women. But we won't get this from the Women's Bureau or the boss. We won't get it until we fight for it.

## Notes from the News

**LABOR ACTION**, newspaper of the Independent Socialist League (Shachtmanites), finally came out editorially in its Jan. 19 issue for clemency for the Rosenbergs: "The death sentence in the Rosenberg case is part and parcel of the atmosphere of hysteria which has been generated in this country. . . .Ethel and Julius Rosenberg must not be executed. Every effort must be made to prevail on the president to commute their sentence. If their lives are spared as a result of the pressure of Americans who love justice and freedom and are determined to fight for them, a blow will have been struck against the forces of capitalist reaction at home and of Stalinist reaction throughout the world."

* * *

**I. F. STONE'S WEEKLY**, advocating clemency, says: "The Rosenberg trial, bad as it was, was considerably more fair than the kind of drumhead procedure in which people like Slansky were convicted of weird charges and whisked off without appeal to execution. . . . There is a lynch fever and blood lust in the Rosenberg case, a primitive urge to kill linked with superstitious awe for the atom bomb, which has become a kind of American tribal god and totem. The execution of the Rosenbergs would be a victory for all that is dark and dubious in our unconscious as a nation and a people." This statement appeared in the first issue, Jan. 17. A subscription to the weekly newsletter is $5; address is: I. F. Stone's Weekly, Room 225 Kellog Bldg., Washington 4, D. C.

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**FLORIDA AUTHORITIES** closed the Negro schools in Deerfield, Pompano and Oakland to send the children into the fields to pick beans while white schools remained open. Strong protests by the local NAACP forced re-opening of the Negro schools.

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**A THIRD** of a million school rooms are urgently needed right now by the American school system according to a report released by the U.S. Commissioner of Education. The new schoolrooms are needed to relieve overcrowding and to replace schools that are out of date or are fire hazards. Cost of the 325,000 new classrooms would be about $10,700,000, but under their own laws, communities — even if they were willing to appropriate the maximum — could not raise more than $5,800,000.

**A 9-YEAR-OLD NEGRO BOY** was shot and killed by Pontiac, Mich., police who say they thought he might have been attempting a burglary. The NAACP and the UAW-CIO are demanding a full investigation of the case which has been whitewashed in the coroner's verdict.

* * *

**FLORIDA NAACP** has demanded of Governor Fuller Warren that he "stop the wanton shooting, general brutal treatment and killing of Negroes by 'law enforcement' officers." Referring to the Christmas-day shooting of 30-year-old Emmett Jefferson by a police officer, the statement declared: "We cannot forget the terror of the Groveland case with the killing of Samuel Shepherd by Sheriff McCall. The shooting in Homestead on Dec. 25, 1952, vividly reminds us of the bombing in Mims on Dec. 25, 1951. In both cases the killers of human beings with the right to the full and equal protection of the law, have gone free."

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**ARMY DESERTIONS**, which have increased five times in the last 18 months are beginning "to cause serious concern to this country's new civilian officials," according to **U.S. News and World Report**, which adds: "That trend is being taken as a measure of popular feeling about this country's present policies in Korea."

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**CANDID INSURANCE SALESMEN** told the Cleveland Life Underwriters Association that "Fear is the great motivating power behind life insurance sales." The top salesman also pointed out that "in these days of retirement at 65, fear of retirement is stronger than it ever has been. Income policies are widespread because most men realize they won't be able to retire and live modestly on social security benefits plus a small company pension."

* * *

**TEXAS CIO** flaunted race-segregation tradition of Galveston at a banquet in the plush Buccaneer Hotel's main dining room. A mixed audience of over 350 broke bread together. This is the third Texas city in which CIO conventions have defied Jim Crow customs. The convention also passed an excellent resolution condemning segregation in general and Texas school segregation in particular.

### *Strike Shuts Baltimore Schools*

**These Baltimore high school students pretend to look disappointed as they are sent home after strike by AFL janitors and other city workers caused closing of school buildings. The strike shut down 109 schools. Special educational programs were broadcast on television for students' benefit.**

## Negro Minister Fights To Keep His Passport

Rev. James H. Robinson, noted Negro religious and civic leader, is receiving impressive support in his spirited refusal to surrender his passport to State Department authorities because of alleged "subversive" activities.

Rev. Robinson, founder of Harlem's Church of the Master, was ordered to turn in his passport just before the turn of the year. Ironically enough, last year he completed a good will tour in which he tried to convince the people of the Far East and Middle East of the justice of U.S. foreign policy. He was praised by the State Department itself for his work. John Foster Dulles, now Secretary of State, was one of the principal speakers at a dinner given for Rev. Robinson upon his return from the Far East.

Then suddenly he was ordered to surrender his passport because of alleged connections as far back as 1941 with organizations which have since been arbitrarily designated "subversive." Regarding a charge of sponsoring the American Youth Congress in 1941, Rev. Robinson points out that he spoke to the AYC in 1941 in the Blue Room of the White House with President Roosevelt present, and with 50 other leaders of youth work.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has demanded that the State Department rescind its action and apologize to Rev. Robinson. Other organizations backing the fight include the National Council of Churches, the National Presbyterian Church and the Brooklyn Ministers Association. Congressman Adam Clayton Powell Jr. and New York City Councilman Earl Brown are scheduled to speak at rally in defense of Rev. Robinson at the latter's church.

### Casualties in Korea

**Announced U.S. casualties in the Korean "police action" have reached a total of 128,971. This is 250 more than last week's total. Included are 20,362 killed in action 13,013 missing in action and 95,596 wounded.**

## NEW PRESIDENT SILENT ON ENDING KOREA WAR

(Continued from Page 1)

securities. As Defense Secretary, he would be in the most influential position to steer war contracts on the most profitable terms to his old corporation, which already has grabbed an eighth of all war contracts.

Wilson's appointment probably would not have caused much of a stir among the Senators — most of whom are wealthy business men and corporation lawyers who own plenty of stocks in war corporations themselves — except that Wilson's offensive tone antagonized some of the Senators who sought to question him. The Jan. 20 **Wall Street Journal** says that if Wilson, who was "frank to the point of arrogance" at the earlier hearing, "would adopt a slightly more conciliatory tone toward the Senators questioning him and would agree to disqualify himself if he ever had to deal with a contract involving General Motors," then "his appointment could be pushed through."

But even if Wilson sold his stock or disposed of it to some dummy holder, it would make little difference so far as his attitude toward aiding the war profiteers is concerned. He is by training, background and class position a thoroughgoing representative of Big Business. So are all the other members of Eisenhower's new cabinet except the labor window-dressing, Durkin. They have been brought in to give the bankers and industrialists direct control of the government and its agencies.

### FORD LOCAL STATEMENT

The open and brazen invasion of Washington by the Big Business profiteers is helping to make the whole war course suspect. It is becoming ever clearer that the wars of American capitalism are fought in the interest of the rich few at the expense of the hard-working, low-paid many.

It is this growing awareness which is reflected in a resolution on peace adopted by the powerful Ford Local 600 for submission to the forthcoming CIO United Automobile Workers Convention. The resolution recalls that "the American people have demonstrated in polls, in actions and in voting in the last election that they want an immediate end to the slaughter in Korea" and asserts that "the people of the world do not believe the spokesmen of Wall Street and Big Business when they claim their only interest in world affairs is to stop the spread of 'Communism' and to bring the blessings of democracy to the oppressed and the hungry."

# Ryan-Hall Port Council In N.Y. Rouses Suspicion

By Harry Ring

**NEW YORK, Jan. 20 — Sparked by Paul Hall, head of the Seafarers International Union, AFL, a Greater New York Port Harbor Council has been formed for the ostensible purpose of cleaning house on the gangster-ridden waterfront. The Council's composition and the decisions of its initial meeting strongly indicate that the real purpose is to bolster the increasingly insecure position of Joseph Ryan as head of the Int'l Longshoremen's Ass'n, and to head off the possibility of government intervention on the waterfront.**

In addition to the SIU and the ILA, the following AFL unions are in the new council: the Sailors Union of the Pacific, the Brotherhood of Marine Engineers, the Masters, Mates and Pilots, the Staff Officers Ass'n, the Radio Officers Union, and the Int'l Brotherhood of Teamsters.

The Council unanimously went on record in favor of internal union democracy and the elimination from the waterfront of any one who violates the law. It then adopted a resolution condemning unsanctioned rank and file strikes, and proposed that participants in such actions be "held accountable" to the Council, and to their union.

### OPPOSE HIRING HALL

On the crucial issue of the shape-up, which keeps the longshoremen at the mercy of crooked hiring bosses, the Council voted, with Ryan's support, to conduct a secret ballot on the proposition of maintaining the shape-up as against the rotary hiring hall. **All of the speakers at the meeting expressed confidence that the men would choose the shape up.**

The rank and file of the ILA will undoubtedly greet this new intervention "in their interest" with the full degree of skepticism that it warrants. They cannot fail to understand that a movement to "clean up the waterfront" which includes among its major participants the ILA officialdom resembles an anti-crime crusade supported by Murder, Inc.

### HALL'S RECORD

Paul Hall, who hasn't won any medals for the amount of democracy that he dispenses in his own union, will have a tough time convincing dockworkers of his interest in their welfare. They remember too well that in 1951 during their valiant strike movement against Ryan and his sell-out contract, Hall's actions aided the notorious Anastasia effort to smash their strike.

Even more remote is the possibility of the men going for a Ryan-sponsored plebiscite on the shape-up. Their whole bitter experience has taught them the impossibility of getting an honest count from this gangster-ridden leadership, no matter how "secret" the vote is or who "sponsors" it. In 1951 they walked out to a man the day that Ryan blandly informed them that by "secret ballot" they had voted in their vast majority to accept the contract.

Testimony at the hearings of the State Crime Commission brought out the fact that in a substantial number of locals, particularly those operated by the Anastasia gang, the membership doesn't even dare to be seen at "monthly" membership meetings. To show up for a vote to eliminate the shape-up upon which the mob rule is based would be considered foolhardy.

### "ILLEGAL" WALKOUTS

The attitude of the Council to unauthorized walkouts is a dead give-away on why it has been created. In the midst of the terror and corruption, the one bright, clean thing on the piers has been precisely the allegedly "illegal" rank and file walkouts which have demonstrated time and again the unyielding determination of the men to rid themselves of Ryan and his gang of parasites.

The whole history of the ILA has demonstrated to the hilt that only the militant, independent action of the rank and file can clean it up. Any group that attempts to stand in the way of such action immediately reveals where it stands in the fight.

All of the recent waterfront developments indicate that the rank and file explosion which will blow "King" Ryan off the docks can be expected in the not distant future. Paul Hall will not succeed in saving him or taking over his crown.

### *Not Talking*

**Albert Anastasia, reputed "lord high executioner" of Murder Inc. shown leaving N.Y. Crime Commission hearing where he refused to answer questions concerning the brutal 1939 murder of Peter Panto, leader of a rank and file movement against the corrupt leadership of the East Coast longshoremen's union.**

## Akron SWP Hits "Beacon" Stand On Rosenbergs

**AKRON, Jan. 11 — In a letter to the Beacon Journal today, Kay Kean, secretary of the Akron Socialist Workers Party, took "sharp issue" with that newspaper's stand against clemency for the Rosenbergs. Analyzing Judge Kaufman's "grounds" for refusal of clemency (upon which the Beacon builds its "case"), Miss Kean shows how the Judge becomes a witch hunter in order to justify his "unprecedented peace-time death sentence."**

"Judge Kaufman accuses the Rosenbergs of being 'in favor of a nation whose ideology was repugnant to everything we have learned, lived for, and to which we have been dedicated.' It is necessary to remind the learned jurist that the defendants are not on trial for adhering to a so-called un-American 'ideology.'

"Clemency for the Rosenbergs is an elementary minimum demand for all true friends of civil liberties."

## PHILA. TRANSIT WORKERS BOW TO PRESSURE, END STRIKE

**PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 19 — Bowing before powerful pressure, transit workers yesterday ended a four-day strike.**

The union had been negotiating a new contract since last October. The company stalled agreement while it pushed through a new fare rise, the seventh in five years. Finally the union set a strike deadline for Jan. 13.

Mayor Clark called both sides together for a final try. The company raised its bid a few cents and union officials declared their acceptance. Michael Quill, head of the union, left local officials to "sell" the agreement to the membership and returned to New York where bus drivers are on strike.

The agreement called for a two-year contract with an increase of 21 cents an hour over the two-year period and a 40-hour week. With the reduction of hours, this means that after two years, the gross increase will be only $2 a week.

Assuming acceptance of the settlement by the membership, officials permitted the union meeting to be broadcast over the air. They were in for a big shock. The members turned out waving the newspapers announcing the settlement on which they had not yet voted and which they did not approve.

### STORM OF BOOS

President Paul O'Rourke's assertion that it was "the best contract the local ever had" was met by a storm of boos. Every official who tried to "sell" the contract was shouted down while rank and file pleas for action were applauded.

Finally, recognizing that there was no brooking the will of the meeting, a vote was called. It was almost unanimous for strike. The leadership was forced to go ahead with the strike.

Immediately every possible pressure was brought to bear on the men. The Mayor and the company threatened to withdraw their offer. Quill blasted the meeting as "anarchy" and "not democratic unionism."

The local leadership declared a secret ballot was necessary. Despite the extreme pressure, one-third voted to stay out. The membership was forced back to work with an unpopular agreement. They will not forget this instructive experience when elections and the next contract negotiations roll around.

## CANNON LECTURE PICTURES U.S. UNDER WORKERS' RULE

By Ernest Rief

LOS ANGELES, Jan. 17 — James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, last night gave the fifth of his Friday Night Forum lectures on "America's Road to Socialism."

This discussion, entitled "America Under the Workers' Rule," dealt with the transition period between capitalism and socialism, when a workers' state representing the vast majority of the people will replace the present capitalist state which really represents only a small minority of exploiters.

"This workers' state is not a subject of imagination," said Cannon. "The workers' state of Lenin and Trotsky proved that the workers could rule and maintain their power against the Russian and foreign capitalists." This and the tremendous economic development due to nationalized and planned economy are the two great positive features of the Russian Revolution.

The negative feature is the police-state bureaucracy which resulted from the initial backwardness and isolation of Russia.

"This will not happen in America under the workers' rule because from the first we can produce an abundance of the things people need and want."

With an economy nationalized and planned according to needs instead of profits American can so increase labor productivity that the working day will be cut, first to four and then to fewer hours.

"The greatest gift of all will be the increased leisure which will enable men to develop their culture and education, unworried by fear for economic survival."

"Women too will be able to develop as they are released from the drudgery of constant home cooking by community kitchens," added Cannon, bringing a round of applause from a large section of the audience.

As social conflict dies out, the state changes from the rule of men to the administration of things, concluded Cannon, "and men become all-round social men, interested in and concerned with everything, fully developed in their hands and minds."


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